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ABSTRACT

This report reviews relevant educational literature and current practices to discover the relationship between personal change and self confrontation. Five areas of study include a) outcomes, b) help for whom, c) the helpful situation, d) the helpful treatment, and e) the helpful helper. The first section briefly describes the outcomes of self confrontation in three areas: self-esteem, realism, and anxiety. The next section studies self-concept, dogmatism, and body image indicating who needs help. The third section concerns the establishment of a secure "psychological safety" situation. The helpful treatment is divided into procedures most often used in counseling, including nonvideo procedures, audio versus video, and facilitative conditions. Finally the helpful helper summarizes the qualities required of a person to be helpful. Several conclusions were reached concerning self-confrontation. Self confrontation: 1) provides a powerful source of information about those aspects of the self which are perceived by others but not by self; 2) presents new information about feelings of which the individual is not aware, and which are probably temporarily disorganizing; 3) fosters placebogenic effects in a low threat situation; and 4) permits the subject to derive what he will from treatments with non-specific effects. Further investigations are recommended. An extensive bibliography is included. (MJM)

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Self Confrontation Counseling: A Selective Review
With Implications for Teacher Education¹

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Paper Presented at the 1972 Annual Meetings of the
American Educational Research Association

Showing people video tapes of themselves in the hope that they will change in some way is now a widespread practice. A cursory look at the recent literature reveals the use of such feedback with alcoholics (Carrere, 1954; 1955; 1958; Armstrong 1964); basketball players (Cooper, 1969), boys on probation (Kidorf, 1963); brainstormers (Dillon, 1971); criminals (Berner, Brumberger & Stugs, 1971); families (Satir, 1964; Paul, 1966; Kaswan & Love 1969); psychiatrists (Berger, 1970) and typists (Brophy, 1971), as well as students and teachers in almost every area imaginable: elementary, secondary, preservice and inservice, speech (Cortes, 1969), vocational and technical (Cotrell & Doty, 1971), science (Butts, 1972), foreign language (Elder, 1971), math (Gall et al, 1971), engineering (Perlberg, 1970), and counseling

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(Cerra, 1969; Yenawine & Arbuckle, 1971; Ivey, 1968). The most popular target populations seem to be pre-service teachers, counselors in training and patients in therapy, with advocacy of such feedback highest in psychotherapy and teacher education.

Not only is self confrontation popular, but as will be shown later, it is also powerful, apparently with potential for harm as well as help. Consequently it seems worthwhile to attempt to discover the conditions under which it produces various outcomes.

In this review, selective as it is, we will be interested primarily in what might be called personal change, rather than change in acquisition of specific behaviors, although studies of the latter do in some cases have implications for personal change. Such personal changes are probably of interest to teacher educators and to education generally. Although educators are also interested in behaviors like decreased teacher talk and increased questioning, they are also interested in the personal qualities of the teachers they train: Teachers' attitudes toward themselves and children: self confidence, accurate perceptions of what is going on, ability to establish positive relationships with students, imaginativeness, stimulating teaching and behavior and so on. In any case, we can assume that pupils notice teachers' personal qualities. Most parents can testify that students would like to have teachers who like them (or at least don't have it in for them) and who are interesting (or at least not too boring).

Despite the probable importance of personal qualities of teachers, little of the self confrontation research in teacher education is

addressed directly to fostering personal change. There is however a modest empirical literature on personal change through self confrontation in counseling and psychotherapy, and lines of research, with implications for self confrontation, in social psychology. In some of these investigations, subjects were, like prospective teachers, young adults. Consequently a review of this literature with an eye to its implications for teacher education seems promising.

Our purpose here is not to review the entire literature which has a relationship to self confrontation, but rather to discover whether teacher education practices can be informed by the experimental and theoretical literature outside education. We will therefore review some empirical evidence bearing on a few questions which seem related to current practices in teacher education.

What are current practices? In some cases, microteaching procedures are used. However, often video equipment is available but teacher educator time is in short supply. The usual practice in such circumstances is to schedule all the students or student teachers in a group to see, alone or with a supervisor, often one who will later grade them, the first technically good video tape they have made, in the hope that they will remedy what they are doing wrong.

What are the chances that this hope will be realized?

Help and Harm

The clinical, speculative and opinion survey literature is almost unanimously optimistic, even enthusiastic about the benefits of self confrontation (Alger & Hogan, 1969; Marshall & Hengrenes, 1970; Stroh,

1969; Lynch, 1969; Hoops & Neill, 1970; Berger, 1969; Sanford, 1969; Kalick, 1971; Bailey & Sowder, 1970). Even investigators who report no significant differences, remain optimistic about self confrontation (Hum, 1969; Blount & Pedersen, 1970). The empirical literature however furnishes less cause for cheer than clinical reports and individual opinion.

A review of the self confrontation literature in psychotherapy (Bailey & Sowder, 1970) concludes on a doleful note:

Despite the appealing claims of psychotherapists who have used playback treatment methods, no cogent, rigorously designed studies have been done which show a clear-cut measureable relationship between a form of self confrontation and positive personality change. The typical approach has been to use self-confrontation in sundry ways over a nonspecified period of time and then to render a subjective opinion as to the therapeutic consequences. The underlying theoretical rationale is usually nebulous or not mentioned at all, and little attention is given to the myriad of confounding influences on client change such as the therapist variable and general mode of treatment; the form, nature and intensity of the self confrontation method; the reliability and validity of evaluative criteria; the role of organismic variables in the subjects used; the effects of the self confrontation methods on therapists behavior, and so forth (p. 133).

Harm

Not only does the empirical literature furnish little evidence that self confrontation helps, but there is some evidence of decrements.

Film or videotape feedback can be a stressful anxiety-producing experience (Nielsen, 1964; Moore, Chernell & West, 1964; Logue, Zenner & Golmar, 1968; Bindrim, 1969; Steward & Steward, 1969). An objective representation of the self can be even more anxiety producing if the person is already anxious (May, 1950; Harvey, Hunt and Schroder, 1961; Schmacker, 1968). Since a video tape or film representation of the self involves intense focusing on the self, such an experience is more arousing emotionally and different from other representations of the self (Nielsen, 1964; Geertsma & Reivich, 1965; Kagan & Krathwohl, 1967; Stoller, 1968).

In addition, it is possible that the stress and anxiety which may arise in self confrontation experiences can also give rise to the same inhibiting effects that threatening messages have been shown to cause (Janis & Feshback, 1953; Janis & Terwilliger, 1962; Berkowitz & Cottingham, 1960; Staines, 1969; Truax, 1966b).

Although no studies have addressed themselves to the specific problem of the harmful aspects of confrontation, three studies report aversive effects. Danet (1968) found confronted subjects in group psychotherapy to be more anxious, more erratic in their sociometric rating, less positive in their self evaluations and lower in ratings of self improvement than a control group. Bailey (1968) also suggested adverse effects from audiotape self confrontation in group therapy.

In an attempt to teach the undergraduate basic speech course to underachieving, culturally and socially disadvantaged college youth, Hawkins and Engbretson (1967) used video playback, and report that the video playbacks may have actually had a detrimental effect.

Help

What is the answer to this conundrum? On the one hand are widespread use and enthusiastic support for self confrontation. On the other are pessimistic summaries and some reports of deleterious effects. To shed some light on this question, and particularly on its relevance for teacher education practice, we turn to an examination of outcomes, treatments, subject variables and helper characteristics.

Outcomes

Self esteem. In one study, preservice female elementary education undergraduates who had microteaching developed "better regard for themselves and became more critical of teaching cliches" (Goldman, 1969). One study reports self regard was greater for videofeedback T group members than for other T group members, but the increase was not sustained during follow up (Loper, 1971). Typically however, no increase is found on positive self concept (Elbert, 1969; Fadale, 1969; Smith, 1970; Blount & Pedersen, 1970; Paredes, Gottheil, Tausig & Cornelison, 1969; Edward, 1969). In one study in fact, ideal self was not only not affected by feedback, but contrary to expectations, the control group's self ratings were closer to their ideal ratings than were those of the feedback group (Decker, 1968). We agree with the author that self confrontation may not be the way to enhance teachers' self concepts. It seems safe to conclude that, although something other than confrontation (such as microteaching's opportunity for practice to improvement) may increase self esteem, it is doubtful whether self confrontation has that specific effect.

Realism. Perhaps confrontation does not increase self esteem, but instead increases accuracy in self perception (Braucht, 1970). It might be possible that what many people fear from self confrontation actually occurs: what we see is worse than we expected. Three studies seem to support increased realism as an outcome. In one, a feedback group showed lower discrepancy between ratings received and ratings anticipated than did control subjects who received no feedback (Myers, Myers, Goldberg and Welch, 1969). In another, psychiatric patients in a confrontation group increased in self concept accuracy more than controls (Braucht, 1970). In a third study, student teachers who had focused audio feedback, were able to decrease the discrepancy from first to second teaching between their self ratings and the mean of the ratings of three observers (Fuller & Veldman, 1966). A fourth study however finds no increase in the similarity between mental hospital patients' self perceptions and mean rating by others whether or not video feedback occurred (Robinson & Jacobs, 1971). The bulk of the evidence seems to indicate that self confrontation increases realistic self perceptions of normals.

One extra insight is added by the finding of Braucht (1970) that self confrontation had different effects on different kinds of patients. The patients who increased in accuracy of perception were, contrary to expectations, in the psychotic group, and were patients who had been hospitalized longer!

Anxiety. Defined as the number of nonfluencies in speech (hesitations, omissions, slips etc.), anxiety decreased with feedback, but it also decreased somewhat with the mere presence of a television camera!

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Openmindedness, affective sensitivity and self perception were not affected by feedback (Cerra, 1969).

Summary. The very little evidence available suggests that persons who confront themselves become more realistic perhaps painfully so.

Help for Whom?

Self Concept

A low self concept reduces the probability of experiencing dissonance between present behavior and future valued goals (Winter, Griffith & Kolb, 1968). This is consistent with dissonance theory (Brehm & Cohen, 1962) and Erickson's work on identity diffusion (1959). Presumably, one important purpose of self confrontation is to identify discrepancies between existing characteristics and desired characteristics. If so, individuals with low self esteem might be expected to discern the dissonance less well than those with higher self esteem and so be less able to utilize feedback. Too, there is the possibility that stressful confrontation can be damaging to individuals who do not have within themselves the capacity to change, or the expectancy that they can change.

This line of reasoning is supported in an excellent study by Salomon & McDonald (1970). When, unlike microteaching studies, no viewing instructions or models of desirable behavior were given, teaching interns who were dissatisfied with their own teaching performance prior to self-viewing tended to devalue teacher education to maintain their self perception and to notice mainly "physique" cues on the screen.

On the other hand, teachers who were more positive about their own performance improved their self perception and attended mainly to cues related to teaching behavior.

Dogmatism. Another variable which may interact with stress in self confrontation is what is called dogmatism, close mindedness, authoritarianism (Rokeach, 1959; Adorno et al, 1950). The earliest formulations by Rokeach linked anxiety and one's personal belief system as a cognitive net of defense mechanisms to protect oneself, a network resistant to change (Rokeach, 1959). Some investigations have confirmed the basic formulations of Rokeach (e.g. Erlich, 1961a, 1961b; Drukeman, 1967) and have also suggested qualification of the original theory (Erlich & Lee, 1969). Dogmatism may thus be related to feedback. For example, Kaplan & Singer (1963) conclude that openness to sense impressions apparently runs parallel to openness of ideas, willingness to examine them critically and careful analysis of thought.

Other studies indicate that high dogmatics will be more threatened by and avoid exposure to, belief discrepant information than low dogmatics (Vacciano, Strauss & Hockman, 1969), and that high dogmatics will perceive a personality testing situation as more threatening (Tosi, Pagan & Franklin, 1968a, 1968b). Dogmatism/authoritarianism is negatively correlated with self disclosure (Halverson & Shore, 1969) also with the ability to separate one's self concept and one's ideal self (Winter, Griffith & Kolb, 1968). The latter study suggests that such inability to clearly articulate differences between present behavior and future goals reduces the probability of experiencing dissonance

between those two elements, an important aspect, presumably, of self confrontation.

Body Image. Another variable which the literature leads us to expect might be important is body image and possibly physical attractiveness. Body image, self concept and self acceptance are inter-correlated (Boyd & Sisney, 1967; Rogers, 1951; Bindrim, 1969). Disadvantaged youth (Hawkins & Engbretson, 1967) do not benefit and might even be damaged. Teachers who were dissatisfied with their performance noticed mainly "physique" cues on the screen (Salomon & McDonald, 1970). The writer has observed that older women teachers often express distaste at their appearance on video tape and that the most usual ~~normal~~ reaction to first self viewing (after comments about voice) is to physical appearance. It seems likely that older people, disadvantaged, handicapped and physically unattractive people might well be distracted by their physical appearance in video tapes.

The Helpful Situation

If stress militates against benefit from feedback, presumably the situation should be one in which the person receiving the feedback feels secure. Perhaps the situation should be one of "psychological safety", a "not for keeps" situation which is still close enough to the demands of the real professional situation to foster personal learning. Such a situation is similar to the "unfreezing" phase of the change process described by Schein (1964), to the psychological safety situation described by Miles (1959) and to such low-risk situations as scrimmage in football, brainstorming or client centered therapy.

The Helpful Treatment

NonVideo Procedures

Although video viewing is the procedure most often used in counseling and in teacher education, a number of other modes of feedback have been used. Readback (Farber, 1953; Pinney, 1955; Golner, Geddes & Arsenian, 1959) involves reading back to a therapist what one has written at some earlier time. In photographic self image feedback, (Cornelison & Arsenian, 1960; Miller, 1962; Ward and Bendlak, 1964), the subject sees his photographs. In rehash (Stone, 1963), one's behavior from a previous occasion is discussed by staff. In cross confrontation, the subjects see another person in a similar situation, as when one teacher sees another responding to hostile child behavior. Stimulated recall involves recalling thoughts and feelings which occurred during the filmed performance, now in the past.

Even though video feedback is the most widely used procedure, other procedures, rehash particularly, should not be ignored completely since they can contain elements which promote change. For example, audio feedback plus rehash appears to have or be capable of incorporating many of the elements which seem to work in feedback.

Audio Vs. Video

No differences seem to be found between audio and video feedback on several measures: speech skill improvement (Cortes, 1969; Mulac, 1968), counselor performance (Markey et al, 1970), listening skills, use of openended questions and related techniques or in tutoring skills (Gall et al, 1971). Audio and video tape seem not to have been compared for personal change outcome. Obviously there are circumstances

when visual cues are essential, for example with young children relatively inarticulate persons or where facial expression and body movement are important. In other cases, the value of video images seem to lie in their novel, attention-getting features.

Facilitative Conditions

Therapeutic progress needs the presence both of facilitative conditions (warmth, empathy etc.) and also of "confrontation" that is "an act by which the therapist points out to the client a discrepancy between his own and the client's way of viewing reality" (Anderson, 1968; Collingwood and Lenz, 1967; 1969; Stains, 1969). (We note in passing that in this sense the video recorder is itself a "therapist.")

Confrontation can be viewed as a kind of interpretation and can range from shallow to deep interpretation depending upon how aware the individual is of the aspects fed back, and how different the feedback is from the person's expectation or his ideal. For example, a video showing a teacher being played for a fool while she was unaware of her behavior which elicited the ridicule, would be either moderate or deep rather than shallow.

Moderate levels of interpretation seem most effective in raising and maintaining desirable levels of client behavior. In attitudinal matters, moderate dissonance seems most effective in causing attitude change. In general, most reports support the notion that moderate confrontation is more promising than confrontation which is very shallow or very deep (Bergman, 1951; Speisman, 1959; Harway et al, 1956; Raush et al, 1956; Bergin, 1966).

Although the confrontation should be moderate, there is still need for what has been variously described as "cueing", "focusing", "highlighting" and so on. Such focusing seems necessary both in simple shaping behavior (Skinner, 1938), and in behavior involving more complex feedback, such as in teaching or therapy. Feedback that is not accompanied by some focus has not been found to change behavior (Staines, 1969; Bush and Allen, 1968; Stoller, 1968; Geerstam & Reivich, 1965.) In fact when increased realism about their own teaching was the objective, prospective teachers whose audio feedback was supplemented by focus became more realistic, while those who heard their tapes only did not (Fuller & Veldman, 1966). Interaction analysis training is a type of strong focus and clearly contributes to changes in the behaviors on which there is focus (Bondi, 1968).

Apparently if subjects are not helped to focus on important aspects of behavior (Pedies and Webb, 1971) nor on the target of their behavior, such as the audience, (McCroskey and Lashbrook, 1970), they focus on themselves. Of course the purpose of the feedback might well be to have them focus on themselves, particularly if it is desired to foster awareness of incongruences between intended behavior and communicated behavior. However, often it is not intended that the person focus on himself. For example when student teachers see their video tapes by themselves, the hope usually is that they will correct some behavior in relationship to pupils. The likelihood seems to be that they will focus on themselves, perhaps upon relatively unimportant aspects of themselves: their appearance, voice, accent and so on rather than on the behavior itself interest. In other words, doing

nothing for the teacher educator is doing something, since absence of focus may well constitute instructions to focus on self. Since many of the aspects on which the teacher is likely to focus are quite resistant to change (nervous habits for example), lack of focus may foster decrements in self esteem.

The Helpful Helper

Helpers can be noxious as well as helpful (Carkhuff, 1969). The probability in fact that even trained professional therapists will have the characteristics necessary for interpersonal helpfulness is quite low. About two out of three counselors are probably not helpful and may even be noxious (Bergin, 1971). It appears in fact, that most good outcomes of psychotherapy are accomplished by relatively few people. As the old saying goes, wolves hire out very cheaply as shepherds.

When we consider all the qualities which are required of a person to be helpful, the low probability is not surprising. If we summarize the summaries of the literature on interpersonal skills (Truax and Mitchell, 1971; Carkhuff, 1969) we have an impressive list. Helping persons need to have CARE: communicated authenticity, regard and empathy. Their communications are concrete and "immediate" (in the present). They have persuasive potency, enthusiasm, genuineness. They emphasize remedial rather than non remedial aspects of the helpee. It seems to make little difference whether the helper is a lay person or a trained professional. There is reason to believe in fact, that training, or at least the kind of cerebral graduate education we give psychologists, results in decrement, hopefully temporary, in the characteristics that contribute to helpfulness (Carkhuff, 1969).

In addition, the helper who uses confrontation must be skilled in manipulating what we have called above the "depth" of the viewed performance. It is never convenient, and may not even be possible,

to select video tapes which are moderately discrepant with the viewer's ideal. However, the helper can by emphasis, attitudes and so on, modify the discrepancy. Where several matters can be focused on, he may choose the one which is moderately discrepant. This requires considerable clinical skill of course. These and other such skills are described elsewhere (Fuller and Baker, 1970).

Given all these requirements, it is probable that the teacher educator will have no better a chance than therapists of being helpful. At best, since many do not have the extra burden of graduate education in psychology, perhaps only half are noxious, unawarely, of course, noxious!

Some Implications for Teacher Education

What is likely to happen when an unselected group of student teachers sees unselected video tapes of their own teaching in a variety of situations, either with a supervisor or alone or with a group of peers? The chances appear to be quite low that all of the conditions would be present which would facilitate gain.

First, some of these prospective teachers will have personal qualities which make it unlikely that they can benefit from self confrontation: low self esteem, close mindedness, body images which are less than favorable. It is not surprising that the groups which have shown most willingness to submit to video taping and self confrontation are those who are unusually advantaged: young, pretty prospective teachers (and athletes), and the patients of therapists, who are by and large YAVIS types: young, attractive, verbal, intelligent and successful.

Second, unselected performances are unlikely to include just the right amount of discrepancy between where the teacher is and where the teacher wants to be. The discrepancy is unlikely to be moderate rather than very large or very small. If it is very large, the cause is lost and there is no hope. If it is very small, there is no place to go, and arousal, perhaps the principal specific effect of self confrontation, is unlikely to occur.

Third, the circumstances in which self confrontation occurs are likely to be less than perfect: stressful, with pressure to improve rather than to experiment with new behaviors; "for real" rather than "as if"; often without focus on a goal (as when the teacher sees her film alone), or with focus on a signal (e.g. some specific behavior) rather than on the significance or personal meaning of the behavior. Too often the focus is on behaviors which are difficult to change. One writer in fact talks of the desirability of concentrating on habits like saying O.K., nervous tics and accent. It would be hard to think of behaviors more resistant to change than these!

Fourth, the helper, well intentioned though he may be, is unlikely to have just the right combination of characteristics to make him helpful. If we are to believe what seems to be a convergence in the literature, the base rate for helpfulness is simply against him.

What seems to be happening is that beneficial and noxious effects are cancelling out one another. This is a phenomenon which plagued research in psychotherapy for two decades and seems finally to be emerging from the closet. Noxious and helpful treatments were lumped together so that effects of neither were detected.

A Placebogenic View. Some hint of what may be going on in self confrontation comes from several studies and some fortuitous observations. Some investigators have reported that although the feedback may or may not have affected the outcomes being studied, the feedback was observed to arouse the interest and motivation of the subjects (Hedges, 1970; Schueler and Gold, 1964; Cooper, 1969), to increase work output (DeRoo and Haroldson, 1971), experimentation with new behaviors (Kagan, 1970), activity (Barnhart, 1970), verbal productivity and rapport (Kidorf, 1963; Bailey, 1968) and to make both client and therapist like the treatment better (Schauble, 1970).

What Shapiro says about the placebogenic effects of psychotherapy (Shapiro, 1971) may be explanatory for self confrontation. For simple populations, simple placebos like pills might be appropriate, but for sophisticated (college) populations or suspicious (patient) populations, more complex, involved placebos like video tape confrontation may be appropriate. Self confrontation may be such a non-specific treatment, one that dithers the system, arouses interest or prepares the person for change, but does not of itself accomplish change.

The findings of Fuller, Peek, Bown, Menaker and Veldman (1968) and of Albrecht (1968) are consistent with this view. Albrecht reports that neither individual counseling alone nor counseling plus video self confrontation counseling produced changes in self-ideal discrepancies of prospective teachers. Then however, a third treatment was added to the other two, placement of the student teacher in a classroom chosen specifically to elicit or promote the behaviors

which the self confrontation had identified. For example, a teacher who saw on video tape that she was cold toward children, was placed in a classroom with a warm motherly teacher and warmly responsive pupils. Student teachers who experienced all three treatments (individual counseling, self confrontation feedback and placement in the special situation) reduced discrepancies between self and ideal significantly more than prospective teachers who had had counseling and self confrontation but no special placement.

Salomon and McDonald (1970) point out that "in all the studies in which people were found to change their behavior as a result of receiving new and partly negative information about themselves, two conditions were met. These conditions were not present in any of the studies where rejection, defensiveness etc. were reported. The two conditions seem to be a. that the receiver of the information knows what behaviors are expected of him and therefore looks for deviations of his behavior from that expected, and b. that the receiver has adopted these expectations for the desirable behavior and is ready to modify his behavior to make it congruent with the expectations" p. 281.

We would add a third condition if the behavior is to persist and particularly if the change is relatively resistant to modification. The individual should be placed in, or place himself in, a situation calculated to elicit and reward the new behavior, feelings, attitudes or whatever. The self confrontation is posited to be a nonspecific treatment whose specific effects depend on other aspects of the situation: the concerns and personal characteristics of the teachers;

the characteristics of the filmed performance; the characteristics of the situation, the treatment and the helper; and the clarity of the information which is transmitted about goals and expectancies. The character and permanence of any changes may depend upon what is offered in addition to confrontation: modeling, microteaching, special placement. One promising direction is autofeedback. Albrecht and Murff are attempting in two different studies to train teachers to create conditions which will reinforce their own feelings and behaviors, those they want to maintain.

Although no true prescriptions in so vast and complex an area are possible, some guidelines seem to be warranted. Chances of benefit from self confrontation seem best: when the goal of the confrontation is modest, for example increased motivation or at most, more realistic self perception rather than personality changes such as increased self confidence and so on; when the feedback is unambiguous, trustworthy and accepted both covertly and overtly; when the teacher has concerns, goals or expectations for herself which are related to the content of the feedback and the focus provided; when the discrepancy between what the teacher sees and what she hopes to see is moderate rather than very large or very small; when the teacher's expectations are "higher," i.e. more like the outcomes desired, than the performance; when the teacher feels some capacity to change in the desired direction; when the feedback situation is a low threat situation; when clear focus is provided, that focus is accepted by the teacher and the focus is on remedial aspects rather than aspects which are resistant to change; and when situations are

provided to establish and maintain the change goals established by the confrontation.

In many situations where self confrontation is used, the procedure is to show unselected teachers video tapes of their first (and variable) performances in relatively stressful situations either alone (without focus) or with focus which may be on aspects of performance which are resistant to change in the hope that weak teachers especially will remedy their shortcomings. By contrast, gain seems most likely for strong teachers who see relatively good performances with permissive helpers who focus strongly on aspects of behavior which can be remedied and who furnish further opportunities to nail down changes. Probably it is desirable in the case of neophytes to tape what teachers consider better performances, to be shown to volunteers under low stress conditions and to focus on what is remedial and important.

Some Concluding Remarks

Our tentative conclusion at this point is that self confrontation performs several functions.

First, it is a novel, powerful source of information about those aspects of the self which are perceived by others but not by the self. Its particular value lies in its ability to communicate negative information which others could communicate but are loath to do and usually cannot do in a totally acceptable manner.

Second, this information, if really new information about feelings of which the individual is not aware, is probably temporarily disorganizing. The immediate effects of self confrontation are probably

most disorganizing for people with moderate or high self esteem, who are relatively open and warm. This means that the people who look good, who have strengths, are those with whom the treatment "takes" but who suffer the most apparent decrements in behavior immediately after confrontation. Those who are closed probably benefit less in the long run, but appear to be more poised and less disorganized than those who benefit more. It is possible that the true potential of this treatment has never been completely tapped because immediate effects are so powerful that the helper tries either to protect the person from its impact through a task orientation (as in microteaching) or else fails to follow through to the in vivo situation as in psychotherapy.

Third, self confrontation probably has powerful placebo effects. The camera itself apparently can become a therapist to whom the individual can relate. These placebo effects are probably fostered by a situation of low threat, and by the same helpee characteristics (trust, openness to change and so on) and helper characteristics (status, persuasiveness, empathy, authenticity and so on) which foster iatroplacebogenesis.

Last, placebo effects should not be despised. The image of the sugar pill is not only pallid, but incomplete. Treatments with non-specific effects may be ideal treatments because they permit the subject to derive from them what he will. Whereas specific effect treatments control the individual, placebo treatments he can use or not as his desires, conscious or not, dictate.

What may be needed are some careful studies of immediate,

intermediate and long term effects of viewing oneself for individuals who vary along the dimensions of incongruence (whose behaviors are more and less what they intend it to be), self esteem, openness, trust and so on; for performances which vary in discrepancy from the teacher's ideal; for situations which are more and less stressful; for focus which is absent to strong; and for outcomes which are specific and nonspecific. Perhaps the first order of business is, as Bailey and Sowder suggest, to discover whether self confrontation has effects at all. We have here suggested some characteristics of persons, treatments and situations which might be combined to permit such a test.

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